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speeches delivered by delegates of principal European Communist parties at the 1947 conference at Wroclaw, Poland, which saw the founding of the Cominform

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Yugoslavia. KARDELJ

25 September 1947

Zhdanov's speech has shed some light on events. If we admit the facts as presented by Zhdanov, we will arrive at the same conclusions. I am not sufficiently well acquainted with regard to the French and Italian Parties. But a superficial examination of the problems is sufficient to indicate that the criticisms are correct.

Valid for other parties. It is a phenomenon spread for the most part by the Communist parties, under the influence of the French and the Italians. The errors of these parties influence other parties in Europe. Temporary collaboration with the Communist parties after the war. The National Fronts were formed with parity among the parties, the Communist parties were too weak to seize power. We believe that the Communist parties did well to enter into coalitions. But such a situation cannot be prolonged. The Communists, representatives of the working class, cannot long remain with reactionary bourgeoisie and social democracy. The two are still quite strong. Neither one of the two can seize power. The winner in this struggle is he who carries on the more determined fight, who has clear perspectives, who has fewer illusions with regard to parliamentary coalitions, who in the struggle for the majority of the masses has the advantage for the seizure of power.

Marxism-Leninism and the history of the workers movement teach us this. If the workers parties drown in parliamentarism, that's the end. This has also been proven after the war. It is not an exaggeration to say that in the international Workers Movement there was a tendency toward a revision of Marxism-Leninism, a deviation. The phenomenon of Browderism in the United States. The imperialistic system weakened as a result of the antifascist war. Certain Communists began to think after the war that a peaceful, parliamentary period was beginning, not one of sharpening of the class struggle. Deviation toward opportunism, parliamentarism.

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Errors in the policy of the French, Italian, and other parties. In our opinion, in the tactics of these parties [sic] errors in the tactics of the Central Committee of the Italian Party. The Italian Communists did not understand the weakness of imperialism. A form of proceeding toward power, legal, peaceful. Togliatti said on 1 September 1947: we foresaw the transformation of our country. Errors of the other postwar period. The peaceful development of socialism through parliamentary maneuvers. I do not deny this, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Italian admitted this possibility. But it is another matter in the eastern countries, such as Poland or Bulgaria, where the leading role belongs to the Communist parties, with quite solid roles acquired during the armed struggle.

Gomulka reported this. But the matter is quite different in the countries where the bourgeoisie still has clear-cut positions. Insucces of the French and Italian parties. They came to such a conclusion.

In a letter dated 16 August 47 of the Central Committee it is read: "Many colleagues had the illusion, etc." The Central Committee criticized such illusions, but this letter states that the error is in the confidence that if it was not possible then, it was possible under other conditions. Togliatti said on 27 September 47: The parties are democracy which organizes itself, etc. These great parties are a guarantee of our freedom. I hold Togliatti in high esteem, but I am not in agreement with regard to these illusions concerning parties such as that of De Gasperi. If the Communists do not come to power through these coalitions, they will be isolated at a certain moment. The bourgeoisie was weak, wanted the popular front, the bloc. But it was necessary to exploit the positions of weakness of the bourgeoisie, to take clear-cut positions. I do not think I am in error when I say that the PCI's conception of the coalition was the basis of the defeat. On 1 September 47 Togliatti said: "The perspectives remain valid under determined conditions." Let us take Saragat's example.

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The PCI was in a bitter struggle against Saragat. But now he has decided to collaborate, within the bloc of leftist parties, with Saragat. Saragat is not in the government, but would like to enter it. The PCI considers this to be a positive fact. The Italian Communists underestimate the fact that Saragat is the reserve of American imperialism. I believe that the PCI underestimates the possibility of Nenni's moving toward more advanced positions. The PCI's policy vis-a-vis the socialists is correct. But at a certain moment this bloc could prove not sufficiently solid. Our Italian comrades were saying that the government of the Communists with De Gasperi's party was a beginning of people's democracy. Togliatti "When Tito asserts that it would be easy to free oneself in Italy from such a government he is mistaken. The process will reach its culmination on 2 June." The Italian Communists praised De Gasperi as an honest man and his party as a mass party, and did not unmask his party as being in the Vatican's pay. When they were doing this a plot was in progress to drive them out. On 27 May 46 Togliatti expressed his jealousy toward France and spoke of De Gaulle with enthusiasm. People's democracy does not begin with the participation of the Communists in a bourgeois government. Can it be said that the PCF or the PCI had taken clear-cut positions? No. With their theory on people's democracy they disarmed the masses. The watchword of a national policy of the Communist Party.

Certainly there is no party which, like the Communist Party, can be called national. But national party is one thing and nationalism is another. The PCI saw too late the true meaning of American policy. From this stemmed the watchword, neither London, nor Washington, nor Moscow. And yet it is clear that without Moscow there is no freedom, there is no independence. The watchword of the defense of national unity was successful in the PCI. Northern Italy is more advanced. We criticized this position to our Italian comrades in 44. They said that it was

necessary to check the revolutionary development in the north in order not to have a break with the south. In answer to the question whether this would have happened if the PCI had unleashed the insurrection, Togliatti stated that power would have been had in one section but not in the remainder [of the country], and Italy would not have been united, free, independent. Moreover: "National unity was threatened, we saved it. And this is the Party's greatest success." The Party, therefore, surrendered its arms and lost all its positions. The PCI is responsible for this. But this is a consequence of the PCI's policy during the war. We were in contact with them. During the war the PCI had a fighting proletariat such as was not available in any other country in Europe. We showed the PCI our experience, more than half of our territory was liberated, we had an army. But the Italian comrades did not agree to follow our path as the road to resurrection. The errors of the PCI are greater than those of the PCF, but all our arguments were useless, we had discussions without results before, during and after the war. Struggle for conquering the majority. Nowadays in this field they see what is of secondary importance, not what is of primary importance. The forces of the Party are not gauged only in terms of the number of votes. It is necessary to add political labor strikes and other forms of struggle. One must not be afraid of even extreme means. The masses march not only behind watchwords, but also behind other examples. A party with millions of members can lose the battle, a small party can lead the masses.

It is often heard in the PCF and in the PCI that the Communists do not allow themselves to be taken in by provocations, that no one will push them onto the path of illegality. In the abovementioned letter the PCI speaks of organizing demonstrations, but recommends prudence,

warns against provoking incidents. It is further stated: "We must aspire to a government of all the leftist forces with the Christian Democrats." It is clear, it is correct that the Italian Communists fight for participation in the government, but they will not arrive there by these means. The policy of the PCF discourages the masses, it is uncertain. An Italian newspaper stated that Thorez's speech was full of nostalgia for the government. The French Communists and the Italian Communists justify their policy with the desire not to lose the masses. But it is their uncertain policy that causes the masses to be lost. Malenkov emphasized the policy of the Bolsheviks, who were able to fight against the current. Even big errors are made under the pretext of not becoming separated from the masses. Greek problem. Often the Italians, and others as well, say that the Allies want to make a Greece of their country, to create a Greek-like situation. In my opinion, this is the expression of their opportunism. They do not understand the Greek situation. The Americans did not desire a Greek-like situation. This threatens their positions. According to our Central Committee, the Greek situation is much better than that in France and in Italy. While the Greek Communists are taking the counteroffensive, the French and Italian Communists are driven out of the government, are falling back. The 1.[Italians, imperialists?] are converting their countries into vassals of America. The Central Committee would like a Greek-like situation in France and Italy, this would be a serious blow to Anglo-American imperialism. Break the imperialist offensive. We do not want to advise the French and Italians to follow the path of the Greeks. We only want to say that their judgment on Greece agrees with their opportunism in domestic policy. The leaders of the French and Italian parties bear the responsibility before their respective countries. These parties do not support the struggle for the liberation of Greece, they consider the game as lost, as soon to be over.

Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria are the target of the imperialist attack, for the sake of Greece. If we all made of Greece a cause of progressive humanity, if we caused everyone to rise up to defend Greece, serious obstacles to American intervention. One of the results of this conference should be intensification of aid to Greece. The French and Italian parties do not have clear perspectives as yet. They participate in the struggle for industrial reconstruction, prices, economic difficulties. I am not well acquainted. But under conditions of capitalism the parties do not employ such tactics. A Communist party cannot take such a position toward a government which turns the country into a vassal of America. It is opportunism, parliamentarism. This is no longer any opposition except one of form. The entire policy and the parliamentary struggle. Why improve the economic position of a government which one wants to overthrow?

Hungary. FARKAS

The strength of the party is not gauged by the number of its members but by its bond with the masses, by the heroism of its members, by their ideological preparation. Theory of the bridge between East and West, between the free and democratic peoples on one side and the imperialist peoples on the other.

Criticisms against the PCF. France is no longer the great nation that Duclos claims- why were the things which Duclos has said here not said at Strasbourg? Perhaps the PCF did want definitively to break with Ramadier and Blum and return to the government with them. If the French Communists had turned directly and forcefully to the people, Ramadier would not have dared to drive them out. A few words on Italy. Longo has spoken of possible cooperation with De Gasperi, saying that it would not be possible to form the government without the Christian Democrats. No offense meant to Longo, who is a magnificent Communist, but this is

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parliamentary majority, it would be possible to form a minority government which would dissolve parliament. The PCI is hypnotized by the numerical strength of the Christian Democrats. In our country, the peasants were 57 percent, we were 17 percent. After a 2-year struggle, we reversed the positions and broke the enemy party. One should not underestimate one's own forces. German problem, very serious. Not all Germans agree with the Americans. It is necessary to support the democratic and popular forces. When the Americans refused us credits after the thwarting of the plot we said that the Americans give money only to those who take the land from the peasants. Watchword: national independence cannot be sold. The dissolution of the Comintern was indispensable and useful. No national differences were recognized, on worked uniformly. But one cannot disregard the experiences of the other countries, one may proceed toward opportunism and blind policy. We Hungarian Communists ask advice from Stalin, Tito, Dimitrov, and we have received it. It is necessary to organize regular international relations. Rakosi proposed this a year ago. Coordinated action against Anglo-American imperialism.

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25 September 1947

France. DUCLOS

Agreement with the Zhdanov report. Situation after the war must draw our attention. We are in agreement with the evaluation of the role of the Anglo-American forces and on the possibilities of mobilizing the masses against imperialism. It is proper to underscore the increase in the influence of the Soviet Union despite the campaigns of the reactionaries. Our enemies try to present the Soviet Union as [the nation which] wants war; we will denounce this slander. We are being reprimanded for not having sufficiently unmasked the Marshall-Truman plan before the masses. We are being reprimanded for not having attacked imperialism. It is for lack of political courage that we would have given in to the threats of the reactionaries. We admit that the removal of the Communists from the government is not a matter of domestic policy (prices, etc.), but the consequence of American pressure. But we have stressed it, even though insufficiently. How did some aspects of the change, of the aggravation of the situation escape us? There is no doubt that from the moment the Communists entered the government the plan of the reactionaries was to change [the situation]. What the reactionaries could not have done alone they did with the support of the Americans. It is certain that we should have done more to denounce American pressure. It is understandable that we French Communists are the center of criticism for France's position, for the harm which she cannot do. We are ready to profit by criticisms. But there is one thing which we cannot ignore. It is not correct to say that we consciously give in to the pressure of the reactionaries. We did not knowingly avoid the path of duty. I say these things seriously and with the gravity which they require. Another assertion. It is said that French Communism has

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charged socialism with "glissement a droite" (slipping to the right). We agree that Blum never was etc., that he is a faithful servant of the bourgeoisie. French Communism has never spared Blum. Thorez attacked him at the Strasbourg congress on prices, on ideological conditions [positions?], on his government (quotation). But the formula of "glissement a droite," used by the party, was utilized for the Ramadier-Bidault government, which proceeded ever more to the right after the removal of the Communists from power. We should have stressed with greater force the role of the American imperialists. Here is the quotation from the resolution of our Central Committee on the government: [.....] in the recent period the attacks against American policy have been accentuated. If there are anti-American currents among the people, this is due to us. It is not fair to say that we have done nothing. It was necessary to do more; that's all.

We unmasked the wheat affair which bears the American trademark. We are attacking Ramadier, Bidault, and the Socialist Party. It is necessary to make efforts to separate the base from the leaders, to win the militants over. There is no contradiction between efforts to achieve unity of action and criticism of the Socialist Party. On the contrary: they are two complementary aspects. Djilas and Pauker. Djilas said that we are wasting time in upper-level negotiations without watching the base. He is not informed. Since 45 there have been no more negotiations at the top. The Committee of Entente, set up in 44, was dissolved in 45 after the socialist congress. As for the words spoken by me at the Strasbourg Congress, I do not have the text here. But I did not address myself to Blum, but to the socialist workers in order to put them on their guard against their leaders who defend the bourgeoisie, not their party. As for Pauker, either she did not understand me or I did not make myself

clear. I cited Guy Mollet's resolution in order to say that the pressure of the masses pushes men like Guy Mollet to engage in demagoguery. One cannot attribute to us the idea that we consider the socialist leaders as semi-allies. We believe that the socialist militants can be won over and we must help them. The specific weight of the workers in the Socialist Party is ever diminishing. The resistance of Guy Mollet is placed beside that of Ramadier. Without Guy Mollet's complicity, Ramadier would not be able to continue his policy. I want to answer Zhdanov's criticism of our government party formula. How can one think that we wanted to assume responsibility for the government's policy? We want to say that our party is not a party capable of governing that it has given a good account of itself and can return to the government. ~~REDACTED~~.

ZHDANOV

Don't you think that the people would have better understood if you had said that the Communist Party is an opposition party? I never read this word either in Thorez' speeches, or in Duclos' speeches since May.

DUCLOS

Immediately after our leaving the government there was indecision, it is true.

ZHDANOV

When a party finds that it has made errors, it must tell it "urbi et orbi" (to everyone). You did not do it.

DUCLOS

We said that there cannot be a government which promotes the interests of the people without the Communists. In our last Central Committee [meeting] we denounced the hesitations and decided to correct them. The

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party will issue a resolution which was not ready yet [sic]. The Central Committee decided to take measures designed to lead the Communists to place themselves at the head of the movement of the masses. It is not true that our party wanted to retain an economic significance for the workers movement. We have often stated the opposite. (Central Committee [meeting] of 13 November). The Central Committee concerns itself with forms of action which are not exclusively parliamentary. It is necessary to specify in what manner it is now appropriate to carry on the mass struggle. It is necessary to mobilize our people for the defense of independence against the American imperialists. I take the liberty of calling to Djilas' attention the fact that, we are certain, he loves us a great deal ("qui aime bien critique bien"), that we deplore that Djilas, having had the opportunity to talk with us, could have expressed to us his criticisms on the errors of our movement during the insurrection. We agree with Zhdanov on the criticisms [leveled at the] French and Italian parties, on our errors, in this situation. What is to be done to remedy the errors?

ZHDANOV

Duclos speaks for Italy, too?

DUCLOS

No. We have enough with France. We must mobilize the masses for the administrative elections. We must stress more the role of American policy. It is possible to establish a vast mass movement against American imperialism. Our delegation pledges itself to cause the defeat of the plan for isolating our party from the masses and to mobilize the broad masses. We agree with Zhdanov when he says that it is the Communist parties that must place themselves at the head of the resistance to the American plan, unmask the accomplices of the Americans,

and support the truly patriotic elements. This means great mass work, beyond the working class. It would be a mistake to think that no socialist can be enlisted in this struggle. One cannot place leadership and base in the same sack, thus the position of the leaders is strengthened. Criticisms against Dkilas concerning independence of the parties vis-a-vis Moscow. Here is what Thorez said at the 11th Congress (quotation). We agree that we should state that we Communists and the people must support Moscow's democratic and peace policy. It is the logical consequence of the taking of a clear-cut position against the warmongers, one cannot but be with Moscow. Pauker reprimanded the French party for not having wanted contacts with its brother parties. It is not true. We want to do our duty as defenders of France and as internationalists. We think that there should be regular relations. The PCF has many improvements in its organization, in its activity, but we would not want the other parties to go away with the impression that the PCF is anything but a Communist party, that one can join and leave it at will, that there is no discipline. If it were so, such a party would not be able to fulfill its assigned mission. Our party will not be unequal to its task, it will be able to correct what has to be corrected; it will be able to take into account the criticisms expressed in the report. It is a commitment that we make.

MALENKOV

We would like Duclos briefly to pinpoint his conclusions, to say what errors have been committed by the PCF leadership.

DUCLOS

We are aware that the PCF has carried on an inadequate struggle against the government. The roots of this weakness are to be sought in an erroneous evaluation of the situation in France.

It is clear that the roots of our inadequacy are not to be sought in recent months only. The error stems for the fact we have not appreciated the nature of our participation in the government. The reactionaries, from the beginning, had no concern other than to change the balance of strength. What has been lacking has been an action capable of tipping the scales in favor of the working class. There has been opportunism, legalism, parliamentary illusions. We believe that it is possible to change the situation by speaking to the Communists and the party the language of truth in order to overthrow the government. It is in this sense that we would pose questions before the Politburo and the Central Committee concerning appropriate measures. If we courageously engage in this self-criticism before the party, we will create among the masses a favorable attitude for the battle. It is necessary to mobilize the French people against American imperialism in such a way as to capture the conscience and hearts of the people. Our party is faced with a great test. You can have confidence in it.

Czechoslovakia. SLANSKI

Zhdanov's speech gives us the line for our policy. We concur in the criticism leveled at the PCF and the PCI. We had been already aware for sometime that something was wrong in France. This encouraged the reactionaries in our country. How to explain the growing aggressiveness of our reactionaries, when the strength of the bourgeoisie [?] does not increase, when its economic bases are diminishing? Evidently our bourgeoisie is becoming each day more and more the agent of America and feels stronger as a result of this. Czechoslovakia is one of the focuses of American attention. Twenty percent of the capital of old Czechoslovakia was foreign (Skoda, etc.). This capital: 15-20 billion crowns.

The American imperialists contend that the role of Czechoslovakia, as supplier of the countries which used to be supplied by Germany, had to be suppressed because it competes with the Anglo-Americans. The Anglo-American imperialists have not lost the hope of striking a blow against people's democracy in Czechoslovakia with the aid of internal forces. It is necessary to increase the vigilance of the Party and of the masses, to put the latter on guard against provocation, to strengthen our positions in the police and in the army. The Anglo-Americans are hostile to the existence of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain and Daladier helped to dismember Czechoslovakia. Britain refused to recognize Benes. America aided the restoration of the Hapsburgs and, with the Vatican's blessings, wanted to reinstitute Austria as the prison of peoples. The hostility of the American imperialists toward Czechoslovakia and the other states of Eastern Europe remains intact. The Marshall Plan represents the first step toward the resurrection of Germany. A Germany under Anglo-American protection. The Sudeten Germans, encouraged by the British, by Schumacher, etc., carry on propaganda in favor of the return of the Sudetens. The Americans consider as their reserves the fascists, the separatists, they send dollars and arms to the Slovaks. Former Slovak ministers, fascists sentenced to death, are with the Americans. Sidor is at the Vatican. They are in contact with the bands, with the so-called Slovak Democratic Party, they have a radio in American territory. For us the first task is to deal a death blow to the reactionaries in Slovakia, if we succeed it will be a blow against all reactionaries in the world. We want good relations between Czechs and Slovaks, Slovakia as an autonomous nation with equal rights, but the situation is such that the Slovak people have to have the aid of the Czech progressive forces. The Hungarian problem in Slovakia. The Paris conference was in agreement concerning the transfer of the Hungarians and Viskinskiy agreed. It is necessary to understand our reasons. The Slovaks are a small nation under

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HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN SLOVAKIA

the Hungarians for 1,000 years. Existence of a Hungarian minority in Slovakia. The Slovak people consider the presence of the Hungarians as a threat to their very independence. The clashes between the peoples favor Hungary. It is necessary to try to solve the problem. The leadership of the Slovak National Party has sought and is seeking to present the Marshall Plan as favorable to Czechoslovakia and [maintains] that we did not go to Paris only so as not to displease the Russians. They say that American aid is indispensable to the Russians, that we absolutely need American raw materials. Fifty percent of our foreign trade is with the Slavic countries, Hungary, and Rumania. Our policy angers the reactionaries. It is necessary to unmask the servants of the Americans. We are the defenders of independence. Against propaganda, films, etc. It is necessary to defend youth. There are those who want to place our culture with that of the West. Eastern culture is held in contempt. We agree with regard to permanent contact.

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[26 September 1947]

Soviet Union. MALENKOV

The conference has already produced results. Interesting reports. Exchange of information. We must exchange views on some problems. Will we fight the Anglo-Americans separately or in concert with each other? On the tactics of the Communist parties. The delegates of the [Bolshevik] Communist Party propose that two problems be discussed: (1) international situation; (2) how to work together, coordinate the various parties. Our delegation will report on the first theme, and on the second one the Polish Workers Party, which has organized the meeting. I propose that we do not open a discussion on the reports. That we go on to cover the agenda.

Approved. Zhdanov will report on the first point.

On the second point.

The delegates of the Soviet Party presiding.

27 September 1947

Soviet Union. ZHDANOV

Exchange of views very high, unanimity of views. I speak to make partial remarks. Satisfaction concerning statements of French and Italians. We all fervently wish that their statements will be realized. We are in agreement that when one speaks of the T and the S of the French and Italians one does not speak of small changes but of a new orientation, of a new policy. The latter is one of the most essential tasks of the conference. I do not want to increase the dose. It is not appropriate to "revenous a nos moutons" (let us get back to our subject). To avoid any misunderstanding. We are not happy about Duclos' statement. PCF government party. Between wanting to be a government party and actually being one there is a difference, desire and reality. I think that Duclos will understand our criticism. Our French comrades must declare that the French Communists do not bear responsibility for the policy

of the present French government. Duclos intervenes to state that it was an error. It must be said at once that it was an opposition party. Stalin is satisfied with Duclos' declaration. I think that Duclos agrees that we did not want to say that it was necessary to stage an insurrection. It is useful to lay one's own cards on the table before the enemy? Say I am not armed, then the enemy will tell you: good, I strike at you. The law of the class struggle is such that only the law of force counts.

It emerged from the discussion that everyone is in agreement with regard to the development of the situation, changes in conditions in the various countries. There is always the threat of a uniform policy in the various countries. It would be a mistake. The line of resistance in the [various] countries against Anglo-Americans does not pass through the same places as against the Germans (2), it would be a schematism. Our new open and sincere program will bring us new allies in place of those who have left us. Right and left, reactionaries and progressives are, for us Marxists, non-rigid, relative definitions. It is impossible to speak of the right or of the reactionaries without saying where and in what situation. It is worth while anywhere, but especially when there are profound changes. Let us take the left. Left with or without quotation marks. Leftists who do or do not want to collaborate. Friends of people's democracy and those who are not so, those who do and those who do not defend independence. There is the habit of thinking that those nearest to us are always the socialists. A concrete political situation may place the socialists more to the right than everyone else. It is not a new problem. Soon after the other war, when Lenin spoke of the Allies in the liberation struggle of peoples, he said that the Emir of Afghanistan was more to the left than Renandel, who defended imperialism.

If we consider the socialists as being farther to the left than everyone else, there may be a situation in which the socialists have the task of saving the bourgeoisie. Is Ramadier perhaps not the surest card of the

bourgeoisie, the best "atout" (trump)? Formally the socialists may be farther than the others from the Communists. If the socialists transfer to themselves the influence of the imperialists, if they prostitute independence, if they are enemies of the democratic countries, they may become the principal enemies against whom it is necessary to concentrate our fire. We want France to be a strong and powerful country. But now, after the treason of the French bourgeoisie and socialism, after the failure of the bourgeois parties to put France on the path of reconstruction, after it has become clear that they are leading France to an economic and political Sedan, it is clear that France will become flourishing and strong only under the leadership of the working class and of Communism, or she will not become so. Two remarks to Longo. It seems to me that Longo thinks that the Central Committee letter of 16 August corresponds to the criticism which has been voiced here. Longo says that he cited the letter to tell us that we Italians had initiated self-criticism. It was not a question of a small change, but of radically changing our political line. This is the impression which we are taking with from the conference. Three main points on the errors of the PCI. It is not the PCI Central Committee's business to tell the Christian Democrats that they will have a place in the new government, they do not deserve this place yet. It seems to me that it is not appropriate to specify which parties will be in the new government before the Communists create new conditions. Only when the criticism has been brought before the masses and new allies will come out, then we shall see. One cannot apportion the skin of the bear which has not yet been killed. I believe that the Christian Democrats of the left, who have not defended the Communists at all, have their share of the criticism. I believe that the recommendation of the Gospel to offer the cheek and bless those who have struck him [sic].

I find that mankind is enormously significant. There is unity in the examination and in the results. Unity and solidarity in the determination of tasks despite the long break and separation. We have made certain that our

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countries will proceed toward socialism and Communism wherever the moving force of the movement will provide the vanguard of the proletariat armed with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. The vanguard that brings the new human civilization. The ties which bind the parties representing the Communists of Europe, therefore millions, give us confidence that the working class will emerge victorious from the general and specific battles.

MALENKOV

The consensus of opinion is that our conference has approved Zhdanov's report and analysis. The delegation of the Bolshevik Party proposes the establishment of a commission which, on the basis of the speeches and discussions, will present a resolution. Comrade Zhdanov chairman, one representative per delegation. Proposes that Duclos preside over the session.

GOMULKA

In our conference all the comrades have stressed the need for coordinating the activity of the parties. It is clear that all the parties have great experience which must be exchanged. Irregular contacts among the parties are insufficient. The liquidation of the Comintern has produced positive results.

But in the four years the lack of contacts has caused difficulties and has led to political errors. Until etc.

Text

Two for every party, selected by Central Committees and revocable. Meetings every three or four months. Small permanent apparatus.

Semimonthly and weekly organ. Coordination and exchange. Editorial staff appointed by the Bureau d'Informations (Office of Information). In the selection of the material accepted by the Central Committee without changes. Articles in Russian and French, possibly in other languages. Active collaboration of party leaders. On the Central Committees the task of assuring the

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material. In the first issue, as essential material, the conference. Permanent location. This location must not be in Moscow so as to prevent slander on pressure by Moscow. The date should be fixed, from 30 November to 15 December. Establishment of the Bureau d'Informations and of the editorial staff. Entrust to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and to the Central Committee of the Party [sic] the selection of the location.

KARDELJ

The Yugoslav delegation agrees with the proposal. In the name of the Central Committee it states that Belgrade might be the location of the Bureau d'Informations. The Central Committee can assure the work of this Bureau d'Informations.

MALENKOV

Says that it is necessary to confirm Gomulka's thesis. Proposes that the Polish, Russian, Yugoslav, and French delegations prepare a resolution on the subject.

A communique will be prepared on the work of the Conference, to be published soon, but after the return of the delegations. The same Commission will prepare the communique.

ZHDANOV

Proposes that communications decide when they can present and that they inform Duclos who will notify.

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The Yugoslav delegation is in complete agreement with the Zhdanov report and concerning the criticisms in two parties. The reporting speeches show the necessity for this conference.

The essential thing in international developments is the American desire to dominate peoples, there is a danger for hungry peoples which is perhaps greater than fascism. It appears that not all the parties realize this, they place their hopes only in the parliamentary game. They were unable to take advantage of the proper moment for insurrection. Their governments have thrown their countries into the jaws of American imperialism. The PCF has emerged the strongest; the socialists, under domination, hatched a plot and drove the Communists from the government. The same thing in Belgium and Italy. Even the bourgeois press spoke of it. Only the French Communists do not understand it. This is explained in two ways: the socialist policy vis-a-vis the working class; the war policy in Indochina. The Communists were driven out because they themselves wanted it (Duclos). It is not true. The Communists were driven out because the American imperialists demanded it. The strikes in France do not have the characteristics of a struggle for the return of the Communists to power. L'Humanite stated that the government was to blame for the strikes. The Communists said that the strikes were economic in nature. Ramadier met the workers' demands and the strikes ended. It must be remembered that at the Strasbourg congress Thorez termed the PCF as a party government, although it no longer was in the government. The behavior of the PCF after the expulsion is not accidental, it has its own history. The PCF created all sorts of obstacles, but not always on the basis of an armed struggle but on the basis of resistance, insurrection at the opportune moment, for the moment when the

nation, even the bourgeoisie, has been ready. It has been possible that Bidault become president, that the French Mikhailovich, De Gaulle, become [.....]. The PCF did not stage the insurrection, they let themselves be influenced by opportunists and capitalists, by those who were waiting for the British, who said that the Germans were still strong. The sickly and corrupt politicians had the advantage. It was necessary to reflect upon what we learned from Lenin and Stalin, that the war of the USSR is an old struggle. Despite the heroic struggle of the partisans, the PCF did not do its duty toward the French nation. After the war the PCF began to make concessions to the reactionaries, permitted the dissolution of the forces of the resistance, permitted the partisans to be taken out of the armed forces, etc. The PCF hoped to take over power through elections. It pushed along the path of waiting and passiveness. How does the PCF explain this attitude? (1) It says that it could do nothing before the end of the war with the Germans. (2) So as not to cause bad relations between the Russians and the Americans. With the pretext of putting the army in order, De Gaulle removed from the army the true fighters against Germany. Struggle of the entire nation against Germany. Exclusively parliamentary means. The second argument is ridiculous, the surest support of the Soviet Union would have been if the French Communists had decreased the influence of the Americans among the people. The Greeks opposed the British during the war against the Germans, we Yugoslavs never allowed the Anglo-Americans [?]. The French Communists have become bad interpreters of the policy of the Soviet Union before the combative French people. The French Constitution, which Communists and socialists supported in the referendum, was antipopular, has not been a good constitution; being afraid of being isolated, the Communists voted [for it]. The Socialists tried to

cause its failure in the referendum. Our comrades were themselves victims of the electoral machine in which they placed their hopes blindly. Then another constitution was worked out which the Communists accepted under the pretext that it was necessary to have done with the provisional [constitution?].

The Communists continued to grow, they became the strongest party, but events did not unfold as they thought. American imperialism became ever more numerous, colonial wars, the bourgeoisie began to bargain with the Americans in order to get American aid. The first victims were the Communists, who were expelled. Bevin, Bidault, etc. well knew that the Communists would remain in the parliamentary field, where the reactionaries succeeded in establishing a majority against them. The French Communists always said that they would not leave the avenues of legality. They based all the work of the party on this. There is no order, no discipline. Everyone can join this party. In 46, one million; in 47, eight hundred thousand. Where did they go? There has been no purge. The watchword is to grow in number. It is a political line, it is an adaptation, it is a political and ideological liberalism. Many members of the Party do not consider themselves as bound by any ties. As far as the reactionaries were concerned, it was clear that the mass of the members would not follow the leadership, if the latter tried to do something. Our French comrades must have known that the Americans were working toward world domination and that they would not wait for the Communists to become too strong an obstacle to the vassalization of France, that they would do everything possible to drive the Communists from the government. I believe I have done my duty.

The French Communist must know that the bourgeoisie is in power, that parliament is one of the forms of power. They must prepare the Party for

this situation. They have not done so, the enemy has taken advantage of it. The policy vis-a-vis the socialists is not correct; it has not produced any advantage. Blum agreed to a Committee of entente, there were discussions, there is no longer any committee or discussion. The French Communists waste time in upper-level discussions, they have done nothing at the lower levels. The workers thought that it was possible to reach an agreement with Blum. Duclos spoke at Strasbourg bearing in mind the social setback in the elections. If the socialists do not want their party to diminish, they must march with the Communists. One might say that Duclos thinks that in the present situation, so difficult for French capitalism, Blum thinks more ^{of} the Party than of the bourgeoisie. There cannot be unity between Blum and the interests of the working class. The policy of the PCF vis-a-vis De Gaulle is not very clear. Criticizing De Gaulle at Strasbourg, Thorez stressed his military merits. It is not true. De Gaulle did nothing, he is one of Churchill's spies, together with the Intelligence Service he set up groups which hindered the work of the "franc-tireurs," what difference is there between him and Mikhalovich, Anders? Why not reveal the truth to the French and make a national hero of De Gaulle? Isolate ourselves from the masses? From what masses? Not from the working class, which cannot be [with] De Gaulle. The French Communists underestimate the De Gaulle danger. If Blum and Ram [adier] are no longer of any use, there comes De Gaulle. Colonial policy. On 23 June the PCF said that there must be a democratic attitude toward the colonies. In Cahiers [du Communisme] Lozere wrote in 45 that the condition for solving the colonial problem was the broadening of democracy. And Fajon...

The PCF lacks clear perspectives. The Congress did not give perspectives, it was a demonstration. Where does one go? A member of the PCF

does not know what to do. In foreign policy? Thore^Z~~X~~ stated: "The solution to the German problem which would guarantee security, understanding among all nations, first of all Britain, America, and USSR. The Franco-Soviet union is the strongest guarantee against the German danger... etc." It was possible to speak thus during the war. But today American imperialism is at the head of a new crusade against the USSR. To place Americans, British, and Russians on the same footing may deceive the average Frenchman, may conceal from him his true friends and enemies. Speaking of the errors of the French Communists, I want to say that they should be concerned about their line, which no longer corresponds to the reality of the international situation. See their work, their errors, and decidedly mobilize the Party, without hesitation. It is not too late yet. But is necessary to be decisive. In the PCF there are forces capable of doing this. Under the guidance of the PCF the working class will be able to fight and win. Tens of thousands of French Communists died heroically, tens of thousands of French Communist dead are proof that the PCF has sufficient forces for the tasks which await it.

ZHDANOV

If the situation in France is so tragic and if the PCF has no role in the government, why is it still being termed as a government party? It is true that the PCF has been driven out, why must it bear the responsibility for the anti-Soviet policy of the socialists, why is it termed as a government party, why does it assume responsibility for the actions of the socialists and Bidault.

PAUKER

Why has the influence of the Communist parties increased so much?

Why have the Communist parties become great parties? Because after the experiences of the war, peoples have come to know the Communist parties,

which have the courage to speak the truth. The PCF gained authority at the time of Munich. At that time it was not very clear, it has become so since then. The same goes for the attitude toward the Soviet Union. The Communist Party has always said that the Soviet government and people are friends of the people [sic]. The authority of the PCF increased further during the war through the struggle against the occupiers, the Quislings. The Communist parties have become more influent thanks to the Soviet Communist Party, which saved mankind from fascism. In Yugoslavia the Party led the people to victory, also in France and Italy, where the people rallied around the party. In her expansionism America is like a spider, but peoples are not flies. Peoples have learned to discern. When one sees what is taking place in Greece, it is not difficult to see America as the future aggressor. If the French Party and the Italian Party knew how to provoke a shock among the people against the aggressors they would have aroused anger against the aggressors. In France and Italy the Americans are behaving like occupiers. Even the petit bourgeoisie, with which the PCF concerns itself too much, sees that America wants to stifle France economically and politically. There is something with which to arm politically the people against the Americans. The French people hate the Quislings. But what does Ramadier do, he does the work of Judas, if this is shown to the French people. We must, theⁿ wait for elections? It is necessary to reveal the true face of this man, of this government. Duclos said that Guy Mollet uses the same words as the Communists. As far as the Marshall Plan is concerned, he said that he approves of the plan. But why does Duclos embellish the truth to us? It is necessary to attack Mollet, the essential thing is the judgment on the Marshall Plan, don't make summersaults. Not only before the ^ep_op_le, but before the nation, the

socialists, the people it is necessary to say that Mollet is in agreement with Blum, that he betrays. Perhaps a large portion will rise against Guy Mollet and the latter will begin to speak a different language. Duclos told us that De Gaulle is preparing disturbances, that there have been provocations, that they wanted to provoke the party. In my opinion, the Americans and their servant, De Gaulle, see the way things are developing better than our comrades. They see that the countries of Eastern Europe are marching toward socialism, that France could also march, it is a possibility. If the working class is mobilized it is possible to win the people over. Let us see what is happening in Italy. The same thing can happen also in France. It is a question of not giving Communism [?] the possibility of proceeding on this historical road. It is necessary to mobilize the French people against this serious threat. The MRP and others are servants of American and British capitalism. One does not fight only with meetings and elections. One cannot limit oneself to saying: we want to avoid isolation. The Communist Party is not a government party at any cost. One governs when one governs in a certain sense. France and Yugoslavia have become an alarm signal for all the countries in the world. Millions of men voted for the party, instead of mobilizing them for the struggle, we say they did not drive us out, we got out. It is the way to demobilize. When the Hungarian events [sic] we mobilized the people, we said: see what is happening. If the French people, who suffered so much because of Daladier's and Petain's treason, were shown the truth, they would understand it. Longo said that we need American aid but under specific conditions. If one speaks thus to the people, the people say if the Communists, who are courageous and skillful, speak thus, we must take American money. We must speak a different language, we must say that it is possible to do without American aid. When the Russian people suffered from hunger, the Russians did not say we have an indispensable

need for aid. With confidence in the forces of the people, in all countries, without American aid, we can get by. It will take longer, it will be more difficult, but we will be able to do it. Mobilize the people: the Yugoslav people gave millions of hours of work.

Duclos said that we will tell the people: "We want the friendship of Britishers, Americans, USSR. Why place them all together? It is necessary to prove that these so-called allies are what they are. Dunkerque, Ruhr. Give the figures to the people, shame the allies who exploit. Say that other allies behave otherwise. The French people would know that they have a friend who does not abandon them. They know the strength of the USSR, a strong ally, which with the other allies about another 100 million [sic]. It must be clearly stated that it is necessary to go with the USSR. If American imperialism seeks to subjugate France and Italy, it is not late yet: strengthen the resistance front, push the people to struggle. It is necessary to reconquer the lost ground. We wish the French Party and the Italian Party a clear perspective, so that they will be able to go forward.

We expected a serious analysis. This conference gives everyone the possibility of correcting our errors. It is necessary that we see each other and exchange impressions. We Communist parties have the same aims, we cannot renounce exchanging experiences, depriving ourselves of the advice of the Bolshevik Party. It would be very difficult for a party which has been illegal for a long time to renounce the experience, the advice of the other parties. We hope that these contacts will be permanent.

A Czech comrade said that the Slovak population has its demands for autonomy. It is explained^{that} the Slovak people, who suffered so much under the old regime, lack confidence.

We thank Zhdanov for his report, which will help us a great deal. The reports of the various parties have been very useful to us. It is necessary to see the aims clearly, to proceed with greater decisiveness, to speak to the masses, to mobilize them, with the help of the masses we will achieve this aim.